Workers of the World, Unite !

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XIII - No. 24 | NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JUNE 13, 1949 | PRICE: FIVE CENTS

WALTER REUTHER'S POLICY IN THE FORD STRIKE

By Bert Cochran

--- See Page 2 ---

Lewis's Charge Of Betrayal--And Murray's Reply

An Editorial

In his June 6 telegram to the Senate, United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis charged that reports are "current" that CIO President Philip Murray and AFL President William Green have "secretly agreed" to "at least four oppressive amendments" to the Truman administration's proposed labor relations bill. If this is true, said Lewis, it "constitutes a foul betrayal of American labor" and a "pusillanimous compromise."

Murray wired the Senate a heated denial of Lewis' charge. He accused Lewis of spreading "false and malicious libels" and referred to a resolution by the CIO Executive Board favoring passage of the original administration bill "without crippling amendments."

We don't want to enter the controversy about a secret agreement. We have no direct evidence one way or another. But we do support Lewis 100% in his warning that Murray and Green are preparing "a foul betrayal of American labor" through a "pusillanimous compromise" on labor legislation.

Why Is He Silent on "Compromises"?

Murray says he is against "crippling" amendments. Are the five "compromise" amendments prepared by the Truman Democrats last week "crippling," in Murray's opinion? Where does he stand, for instance, on the proposal to amend the Wagner Act to grant the President power to break "national emergency" strikes through plant "seizures"? With all his indignant denials, Murray was careful in his answer to Lewis not to state where he stands on these specific amendments.

We have searched the current CIO News and the daily papers in vain for any statement by Murray in opposition to the five anti-labor amendments which the Truman Democrats have been discussing for several weeks and which were endorsed by the leading Truman Democrats in the Senate last week. We can only assume that Murray's failure to speak out against this "compromise" is nothing but a silent endorsement of it.

There is all the more reason to suspect a betrayal by Murray in view of the conduct of the CIO representatives last month during the House debate on Taft-Hartley repeal. Let Murray deny — if he dare — that representatives of his own steel union, Reuther's auto union and of the national CIO button-holed congressmen and urged them to vote for the "compromise" Sims bill, including its provisions for INJUNCTIONS. Sure, Murray opposed the Sims bill "for the record." But his lieutenants were plugging for it in the House corridors.

JOHN L. LEWIS

Murray's righteous indignation about Lewis' charges are wholly unconvincing. All he had to do to disprove Lewis was to denounce the plant "seizure" and other amendments proposed by the Truman Democrats and to call on Lewis, Green and the other union leaders to join with the CIO leaders in summoning all labor to militant joint action against these amendments.

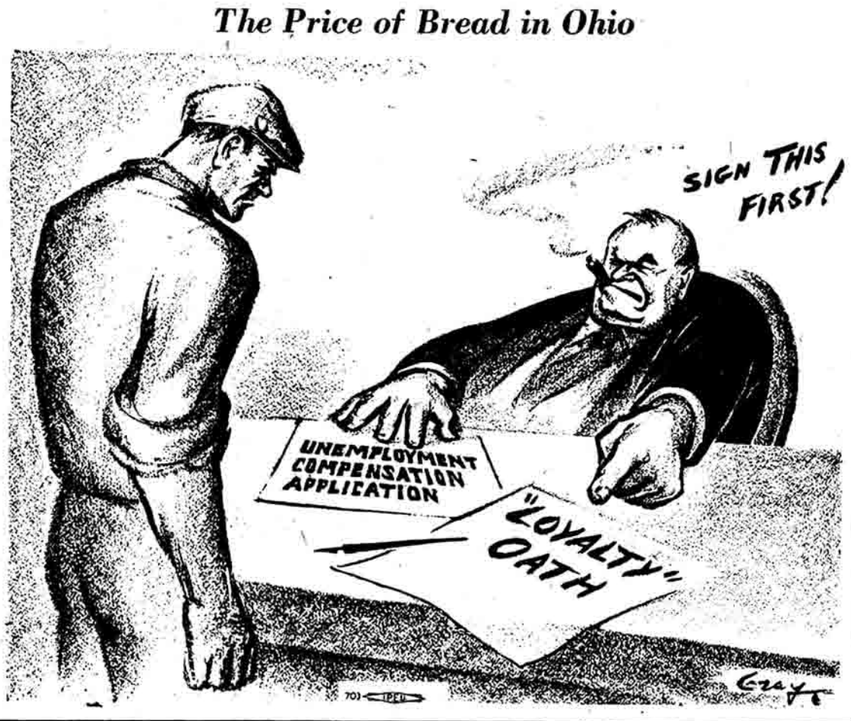
Murray does not do this because his program, in reality, consists in covering up for the Truman administration. Leading "pro-labor" and "liberal" Trumanites — Senators Douglas, Thomas, Hill and Luce — drafted the "compromise" amendments. And Truman himself, despite his previous bluff about "no compromise," is ready to go along, Senate Majority Leader Lucas reported last week. Truman is responsible, in the final analysis, for the treacherous "compromise" in preparation. But Murray and the other union leaders of his stripe are RESPONSIBLE FOR TRUMAN.

They Bear Responsibility for Truman

They put him back in office. They have helped to conceal his dirty maneuvers on the Taft-Hartley repeal issue. They — and Murray, above all — are trying to protect Truman even as he greases the way for a Taft-Hartleyized "compromise" bill without the Taft-Hartley label.

It is unfortunate that Lewis, who has so boldly exposed this rotten, treacherous deal, offers no effective program to stop it. But it can be stopped — if the ranks of the CIO and AFL force the fight for Taft-Hartley repeal out of the field of back-room deals and corridor maneuvers and onto the arena of mass labor action. The Detroit and Minneapolis CIO Councils have pointed the way by their proposals for a 24-Hour National Work Stoppage.

The Price of Bread in Ohio



Minneapolis CIO Urges National 24-Hour Stoppage

The CIO workers of Minneapolis have joined those of the Detroit CIO and a growing number of union locals throughout the country in urging a 24-hour national work stoppage as the best means to secure repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and back up labor's demands for civil rights, housing and other progressive legislation.

At its May 25 meeting, the Hennepin County (Minneapolis) CIO Council unanimously adopted a motion recommending to the national CIO that a 24-hour "protest holiday" be called "in order to show labor's position against the Taft-Hartley law." This followed the action of the Greater Detroit and Wayne County CIO Council in proposing a one-day "labor holiday."

SPECIAL SESSION URGED

The Detroit CIO resolution also urged the holding of a special session of Congress to enact all the social measures so far neglected or buried by the Democratic-controlled national legislature.

To reinforce labor's demands for passage of this legislation, the Detroit CIO resolution also called for a mass conference of all labor unions in Washington simultaneous with the proposed special session of Congress.

This growing demand for effective mass labor action in the form of a 24-hour national work stoppage has been spurred by the clear evidence that Congress is bent on scrapping social legislation and that the Truman Democrats have no intention of putting up an effective fight for their promised "Fair Deal" program.

PARIS CONCLAVE USES MASSES AS MERE PAWNS

By Ruth Johnson

Columns of propaganda for public consumption are streaming from both sides in the Council of Foreign Ministers meeting at Paris. Meanwhile the real business of the conference goes on in secret. Washington and Moscow are quietly testing out the ground on which concessions of some sort may be made, although the stalemate of open sessions indicates they may be long delayed.

The agenda is limited to Germany and the Austrian peace treaties. But political and economic factors in Europe and the Far East, are used as so many weights by Wall Street and the Kremlin. Each adds them to the scales to enhance the price each demands.

The Soviet Union, plagued by economic troubles in Eastern Europe and at home, is dickering for a resumption of trade between Eastern Germany, the Soviet satellites and Western Europe. Stalin fears that the stagnation of industry in the "New Democracies" may drive them out of his iron control, and on to the "Tito-ist" road.

ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES

These countries are all in need of steel, other basic materials, plus capital goods to build up their industries and raise their living standards. Before the war, they exported raw materials and food to Germany and Western Europe, in exchange for much of their manufactured goods. Now these markets are closed to them. The Soviet Union, which has an abundance of the same raw materials and also needs industrial equipment, cannot absorb their trade.

The Stalinist-controlled sector of Germany is in virtually the same condition, with the economic stagnation most acute in Berlin where dual administrations and currencies aggravate the plight of the masses. Stalinist prestige in Germany cannot long survive unless industrial reconstruction, dependent on the coal and iron of the Ruhr, is at least begun.

WALL ST. ALSO INTERESTED

For its own reasons, Wall Street is also concerned with restoration of East-West trade. But it can afford to "sit tight and wait" until Stalin yields enough concessions. Irked by the delay, Moscow's newspaper **Pravda** pointed to the analysis of columnist

(Continued on page 2)

Unemployment Rises, But So Do Profits

Unemployment, on the rise since last July, was estimated at a new post-war high of 3,289,000 persons without jobs on May 14, according to the June 7 report of the Bureau of the Census. These figures are conservative and cover mainly workers getting unemployment compensation.

But the monopoly profiteers aren't doing badly. A June 5 **N. Y. Times** summary of published reports of 300 leading companies discloses that their average profits for the first three months of 1949 rose 9% above their record take in the first quarter of 1948.

3 CIO Unions Back Defense Of Legless Vet

Special Session On Civil Rights Urged By NAACP

NEW YORK — The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has asked the Truman administration to call "a special session of Congress this summer for the purpose of acting upon civil rights legislation."

The demand was made by Roy Wilkins, NAACP assistant secretary, in a wire to Senator Scott Lucas, majority leader, after Lucas announced the administration had abandoned efforts to pass civil rights bills in this session of Congress. Both Lucas and Truman backtracked on this announcement soon afterward, but there is still little likelihood of action on civil rights during the present session.

Wilkins' wire asking for the special session blasted the "faint-heartedness and outright defection of some liberal Democrats" and condemned the administration leaders for their failure to support anti-segregation amendments to housing and education bills.

The proposal for a special summer session was first made by the New York Branch of the NAACP in April. The New York resolution also advocated the calling of "a united Negro and labor conference, representing Negro and labor organizations in all parts of the country, to meet in Washington simultaneously with the special session of Congress and to press for the passage of the civil rights bills." This proposal is scheduled for discussion by the coming 40th annual conference of the NAACP, to be held in Los Angeles next month.

Clothing, Maritime, Packing Workers Aid James Kutcher

As James Kutcher started on his Western speaking tour, spokesmen for three big CIO International unions went on record in support of the courageous fight he is conducting against the government loyalty purge. These latest additions to the ranks of Kutcher's defenders are the national officers of the CIO National Maritime Union, the International Executive Board of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers, and the Advance, official newspaper of the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

JAMES KUTCHER

The NMU national officers took their stand in behalf of Kutcher's fight for reinstatement at their May 10 meeting. According to the minutes published in the May 27 issue of the NMU **Pilot**, this favorable action was taken on the basis of a "resolution passed by the crew of the SS. HEREDIA urging the National Office to support the fight of James Kutcher, legless veteran who was dismissed from his position with the Veterans Administration by virtue of his affiliation with the Socialist Workers Party."

PAC SUPPORT URGED

The resolution also urged the NMU National Office to try to get support for the case from the CIO Political Action Committee.

At the national convention of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers held May 31 to June 2 at Estes Park, Colorado, the International Executive Board and Resolutions Committee unanimously adopted a resolution strongly condemning Executive Order 9835 under which Truman's loyalty purge has been set up.

It points out that the loyalty investigation "has been the basis for a widespread witch-hunt and campaign of terror among federal employees, has undermined the effectiveness and morale of the civil service, has been used as the basis for attacking and depriving of employment many loyal federal employees solely because of liberal political beliefs, has in practical enforcement been applied discriminatorily against various racial and religious minorities."

The Packinghouse Workers' resolution singles out Kutcher's dismissal as one of the outstanding instances of injustice and "calls upon President Truman to specifically reinstate to federal employment and clear the name of James Kutcher."

The June 1 issue of the **Advance** carries an article urging all-out aid for the legless veteran. "The injustice committed against James Kutcher is not purely an injustice committed against one individual (though that would be enough) . . . It is an injustice against every man," says the organ of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The campaign for Kutcher "must be fought by everyone because it is every man's battle to secure the rights of his fellow man," the article concludes. "Kutcher's freedom is everybody's job!" (See Page 3 for full text of the **Advance** article.)

KUTCHER'S TOUR

Kutcher himself is in Minnesota this week on the first stop of his current tour, which will also take him to the states of Washington and California for public meetings and other activities to raise funds for his Federal Court appeal.

Details of the program planned in Seattle will be found in a story on Page 4 of this issue. He is scheduled to leave Seattle for San Francisco June 24, and to cover the Bay Area until July 7. Then he will go to to Los Angeles, where he will spend the rest of the month.

CP Trial Shows Pattern Developing in Witch-Hunt

By Farrell Dobbs

FEDERAL COURTROOM, NEW YORK, June 8 — "Be a stoolpigeon or go to jail" — with an ultimatum to that effect Judge Medina jailed John Gates, editor-in-chief of the *Daily Worker* and a defendant in the present thought-control trial of the 11 Stalinists, while Gates was under cross-examination as the first witness for the defense.

The chief prosecutor, John McGohey, opened the cross-examination by questioning Gates about party posts held by other defendants. At first Gates refused to answer, but he later gave the information after the other defendants had offered to stipulate what posts they occupied.

McGohey next began probing for the names of Stalinists not on trial. Gates managed to sidestep direct answers until McGohey came to a Communist Party pamphlet on the veteran question, entitled "Who Ruptured Our Duck?" Gates said he had prepared the pamphlet with the help of three others. Then the storm broke.

VICIOUS CRACKDOWN

"Who were they?" McGohey asked.

"These people are engaged in private industry," Gates replied. "I will not disclose their names because they would lose their jobs."

"I ask the court to direct the witness to answer," McGohey demanded, turning toward the bench.

"Answer the question," commanded the judge.

Gates refused to answer, invoking his rights under the first and fifth amendments to the constitution. The judge sent the jury out of the room and, turning to Gates, said:

"I now adjudge you guilty of a willful and deliberate contempt and by reason thereof I sentence you as follows: You are to be remanded [to jail] until you have purged yourself of your contempt for a period not to exceed 30 days."

The courtroom was thrown into an uproar. All the defendants and their lawyers leaped to their feet, protesting. Deputy marshals rushed in through all four doors to the courtroom. Through one open door the jailor's elevator could be seen standing in readiness.

Henry Winston, CP organizational secretary, called the judge's action monstrous. Gus Hall, chairman of the Ohio CP, denounced it as a kangaroo court decision. Judge Medina thereupon revoked the bail of both these defendants and ordered them jailed for the duration of the trial.

Appeals from the sentencing of Gates, Winston and Hall have already been set in motion. During preliminary argument of the Gates case before the Circuit Court of Appeals, an assistant prosecutor called the pamphlet on the veterans a "rabble rousing" document and said, "We want to know who prepared it."

The prosecutor added that questions similar to the one Gates refused to answer will come up during cross-examination of all defense witnesses, and he expects the higher court to back up Judge

(Continued on page 2)

Swear 'Loyalty' or Starve, Ohio Decrees

Starting in August, Ohio's unemployed workers will be denied unemployment insurance unless they sign a "loyalty" oath swearing they do not "advocate" the overthrow of the government nor belong to any organization that does.

This "latest, drastic extension of the loyalty-oath idea," as the June 4 **Business Week** described it, was shoved through the Ohio legislature as a surprise rider to an unemployment insurance bill and became law the last week in May when it was signed by Democratic Governor Frank Lausche.

SWEAR FIRST!

If this witch-hunt trend is not halted, it won't be long before nobody will be able to work, eat or live in this country unless they publicly swear "loyalty" to the capitalist powers-that-be and renounce the right to advocate opposition in any form to the existing economic, social or political order.

The Ohio law is particularly vicious because it uses the direct threat of starvation to impose thought-control. In effect, the unemployed are being forced to sign an oath of allegiance to the capitalist system, the very system that breeds unemployment.

With unemployment rapidly growing throughout the country, the employers and their political agents in other states will seize on the Ohio law as a model for discriminatory legislation against the unemployed. Under such laws, unemployed who join organizations to fight for higher benefits or a program against unemployment might be branded as "subversive" and deprived of unemployed relief.

First, we had two million federal workers forced to take "loyalty" oaths, subject to dismissal without charges or hearing. The outstanding victim of this procedure is the legless veteran James Kutcher.

The Taft-Hartley Act adapted Truman's "loyalty" program to the unions by requiring union leaders to sign "loyalty" oaths in order to qualify for NLRB recognition.

Since then there has been a flood of bills introduced or passed in state legislatures requiring "loyalty" oaths not only of state employees, but of public school teachers, college profesors, lawyers and even workers in private industry engaged on "government contracts."

Perhaps the most extensive use of "loyalty" oaths is in education. There is a tremendous nation-wide drive to put teachers and professors in a thought-control mold. Dozens of states have passed or are debating teachers oath laws.

NO REASON GIVEN

The hunt for "heretics," spearheaded by reactionary business-controlled boards of trustees, is sweeping the colleges and universities. Last week, for instance, the Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska incorporated into its governing policy a resolution not only barring from teaching positions all who "openly or surreptitiously" endorse "subversive doctrines" but banning from use in the classrooms even books adjudged to contain such doctrines. This resolution, incidentally, was modeled on one adopted at the last annual session of the Association of Governing Boards of State Universities and Allied Institutions.

The drive to keep any but the most reactionary ideas from students has reached the point where even **The Nation**, oldest and most respected liberal journal in the country, has just been barred from the schools of New York City for another year. It was banned last year because of the pressure of the Catholic hierarchy on the grounds of its having published a series of articles by Paul Blanshard on the economic, social and political role of the Catholic hierarchy.

The ban was renewed last week by the New York City Board of Education, which upheld the previous decision of the Board of Superintendents. No reason for renewing the ban was given. Even the **N. Y. Times**, which supported the ban last year, was constrained to object in its May 28 editorial that "continuation of the ban can only be explained as punishment of the magazine for its temerity in having printed the Blanshard series in the first place. . . It is, in fact, censorship in advance of publication."

ASSAULT ON FOREIGN-BORN

The assault on freedom of thought and civil rights is moving relentlessly forward on every front. On June 5, Senator Scott W. Lucas, Democratic majority leader, proposed a brutal law for the indefinite imprisonment without trial of non-citizens. He announced a bill to empower the Attorney General to seize and hold in custody for as long as he sees fit any alien, and to negotiate with any country that might be willing to accept such aliens. This is part of the attempt to victimize union leaders like Karl Skoglund, former head of the militant Minneapolis truck-drivers union, and Harry Bridges, president of the CIO longshoremen's union.

Some liberals believe the Paris conference means a subsiding of the cold war and therefore an end to the "cold war" on democratic rights. That some temporary deal may be patched up between Washington and the Kremlin is possible. **But the facts cited above show that the reactionary rulers of this country are proceeding ruthlessly with their drive to crush free thought as a necessary preliminary to the eventual third world war they are planning. The defense of civil rights must be pressed more vigorously than ever.**

Labor Union Trends

Reuther's Policy In the Ford Strike

By Bert Cochran

Many people have asked me in bewilderment what Reuther won in the Ford strike settlement. They are genuinely puzzled, because even Reuther's opponents and critics concede that he is a person of ability and find it hard to believe that he called off a major strike without winning some kind of concessions.

But there is no secret joker in the agreement favorable to the union. There just isn't anything there at all. Hard as it is to believe, the Ford workers were asked to return to work after a 24-day strike under the same speedup conditions which existed before the walkout and under the same arbitration proposal that the company offered prior to the strike.

There is no merit in Reuther's assertion that the company proposed a "phony" arbitration deal before the strike and that now they were forced to accept a "genuine" arbitration agreement. An "impartial arbitrator" is still going to decide the very same issue that was in dispute when, on May 5, the Ford workers, in a burst of anger and determination, brushed aside Ford's arbitration scheme and resolved to settle the issue on the picket line.

NOT "FAIR SETTLEMENT"

Nor is there any validity in the whispered suggestion that Reuther has the arbitrator sewed up. The settlement calls for the usual 3-man arbitration board, each side selecting one representative, and the two agreeing on the third who, in effect, will decide the case. In the event that the two cannot agree, Dr. Harry Shulman, the Ford-UAW umpire, who has repeatedly ruled against the union in the past, automatically becomes the third member. The most you can say and the best you can say is that possibly the arbitrator may feel under some pressure — because of the strike — to give a slightly better ruling than he might otherwise have been inclined. And even this is pure conjecture.

In the light of these facts, Reuther's publicity handout calling the agreement "a fair settlement of the issues" must be described as sheer piffle. Of the six points which make up the strike settlement, five were agreed to by the company before the strike. And anyhow, they don't amount to a hill of beans, singly or all together.

The sixth point calls for the rescinding of the 27 cases of discharge and disciplinary layoffs and the reduction of the penalties to a reprimand. This might appear like a concession to the union were it not for the fact that everyone understood that Ford simply threw these discharges into the pot in the course of the strike to provide the company with an additional bargaining counter in the final settlement. No one took the discharges seriously or believed for a moment that they were intended to stick.

REUTHER'S APPROACH

If we try to reduce Reuther's tactical antics in the Ford strike to outline form, we get something like this: He opposed the strike at first because, in his opinion, it interfered with his special de-luxe strategy of negotiating with Ford on pensions and wages this summer; to him speedup was a two-bit, side issue, anyhow. He then went along with the strike and assumed leadership of it when he saw he couldn't control the situation otherwise.

But he tried to reduce the fight to the small change of a grievance in the "B" building, gratuitously announcing that Ford had no speedup policy and that he was sure that the dispute could be easily settled and the same fine understanding reached on production schedules as the union had in Chrysler, GM and elsewhere. (This was correctly interpreted as an attempt to sell out the strike as everybody in the UAW knows that working conditions stink and speedup is rife in GM and other companies.)

When Ford took him up on this and proposed that all workers return to their jobs except those directly involved in the "B" building controversy, Reuther under heavy pressure from the ranks, had to change front again and reject the company suggestion. Two days later he really pulled out all stops in portraying the embattled working class leader. He announced at a big mass meeting that pensions, wages, contract demands, the whole works, were being thrown into the picture and threatened to call off negotiations if the company did not start bargaining on the new contract by May 23. "We will fight together, work together, stand together and win together." A splendid peroration! A faultless call to battle! That was on May 19. The walls of Jericho did not come tumbling down under these synthetic trumpet blasts, however, and four days later all this militancy went up the flue and the union representatives walked into negotiations with an offer to arbitrate the issue.

"BACK THROUGH A GATE"

John W. Love, business columnist of the **Cleveland Press**, whom we had occasion to quote before on the Ford strike, openly jeers at Reuther's "masterful tour de force." He writes: **"It was as if Reuther had jumped to the head of the parade as the members left the Ford works, led them in strenuous marches over the prairie and through the brush, and brought them back through a gate which turned out to be the side door of the Ford works."**

So much for Reuther's "strategy" and Reuther's "settlement."

The question remains, why did he do it? Why did he permit the Ford strike to fold up under the company's terms and thereby jeopardize his coming negotiations on the fourth wage round? For surely, no one in his right senses believes that the Ford company, having soundly thrashed the union in one strike, will offer anything substantial on the contract demands.

You have to understand the peculiar psychology of the labor bureaucracy and how in many ways its thinking is closer to that of the businessman than to the worker in the shop. This will explain why Reuther pooh-poohed the speedup problem for the past year, considered the whole controversy at Ford a second rate bellyache, opposed striking over this question and then called off the strike as soon as he could.

ON-THE-JOB ACTION

In the halcyon days of the CIO, speedup and production rates were generally not dealt with in contractual or top negotiations. The workers handled these matters right on the job. Even when the sitdown strike went into disuse as an important strike technique, thousands of small sitdowns, shutdowns, quickies on a departmental, section or line basis took place over what constituted a day's production. It was a commonplace, in those days, for a committeeman or steward to shutdown a line or department in an argument over production standards. The workers, mindful of their health and strength, always tried to reduce the day's production as far as they could. The company, mindful of its profits, tried to screw up production rates as high as the traffic would bear. The relationship of strength between the two determined in the end what constituted a fair day's work.

As soon as the flood tide of labor militancy receded, the corporations went into action and began devising ways and means to throttle this menacing power in their plants that was encroaching on their "management prerogatives." Their effort to break the independent strength of the men in the shop had the aid and comfort of the labor bureaucracy. It is true that these shop steward systems led to some abuses. Sometimes, a sorehead individual or hot-headed steward would halt a line and eventually shut down a whole plant over an inconsequential grievance. But these were only minor irritations which could easily have been disposed of by better education.

What the bureaucracy dreaded under this setup was the enormous power lodged in the hands of the shop people. That is why it cooperated with the companies in such fulsome fashion to force all grievances through a complicated and tortuous top-heavy procedure which lodged all authority and decision in the bureaucracy itself. This is why union contracts nowadays bristle with punitive clauses against unauthorized walkouts and violations of grievance procedure. This is why, incidentally, the Ford workers had to go out in a full-scale strike over an issue which a decade ago would have been settled — and settled right — in the department between the superintendent and committeeman concerned.

BOSSES' RULES ACCEPTED

There are all kinds of time-study systems around and CIO unions are going to town — as a substitute for militant action — in sending stewards and committeemen to all sorts of time-study classes. But all these systems accept the present factory setup and proceed from the theory that the working man is supposed to push out production for the boss from starting to quitting time. The labor bureaucracy, in other words, accepts the bosses' rules of the game and limits itself to trying to prevent them from cheating on their own rules. That is why nine times out of ten labor officials are so hostile to complaints about speedup and view most such grievances as "disruption," "playing politics," etc.

Hence, in the weird world inhabited by the labor bureaucrats, where paychecks come in steadily, and not such bad paychecks at that, the Ford strike was strictly a boner. The Ford workers had gone out on a limb and their union officials had to get them back to work before the company proceeded to saw the limb off.

What happens now? What are the Ford workers supposed to do if Ford adopts the same uncooperative attitude on wages and pensions that he displayed on speedup? Don't ask Reuther or the other "labor statesmen." Because they don't know.

Victor Reuther Shot

UAW Education Director Victor G. Reuther, brother of Walter Reuther, is shown being taken to Ford Hospital in Detroit. He was shot by an unknown assailant with this double-barreled shotgun (insert) found outside his window. The UAW is offering a $200,000 reward for information leading to the conviction of the would-be murderers.

CP Trial Shows Pattern Developing in Witch-Hunt

(Continued from page 1)

Medina's "Be a stoolpigeon or go to jail" decree.

PATTERN BECOMES PLAIN

As these evils are piled one upon another in this infamous trial, the pattern of the government's police-state methods becomes increasingly plain, and the threat to democratic rights in this country is revealed in all its stark reality.

The highest official body of a political party has been put on trial, falsely accused of organizing that party to teach the Marxist-Leninist political philosophy, which in turn is falsely characterized as a philosophy advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence. This triple frameup is set forth in a general "conspiracy" indictment.

In addition, each of the Stalinist defendants is individually indicted because of his membership in the Communist Party. That means a verdict of guilty in this trial would set a precedent for the prosecution of each and every member of the CP. The party would, in effect, be outlawed. Nor is that all.

Since the Stalinists are falsely represented by the prosecution to be genuine adherents to the principles of scientific socialism and firm opponents of imperialist war, it follows that a precedent would be established for the government to attack all advocates of socialism and all opponents of the war that is now in preparation.

EFFECT ON BLACKLIST

Because of another evil which would result from a conviction in the present trial, such an attack on socialists and opponents of imperialist war in general would not necessarily be made through court action, with the victims having at least the right to a public trial. Stalinist organizations constitute the central core of Attorney General Clark's notorious "subversive" list, which already includes over 100 organizations, so designated in brazen defiance of their constitutional rights to have a bill of particulars and an open trial before a jury of their peers.

Conviction of the Stalinists here at Foley Square would be used by the government to justify the entire present "subversive" list and TO ADD NEW VICTIMS TO IT by the same Hitler-like decrees. Persecution of teachers, students, government employees, liberal ministers and militant workers barred from "security-sensitive" areas in industry, which is already a vicious general practice, would be transformed into a veritable Roman circus by the witch-hunters.

Any individual, or any organization, including the unions, that came into serious conflict with the politicians who run the government could be subjected to the same persecution.

Stoolpigeons like the unsavory types paraded into this courtroom to testify against the Stalinists would be planted in workers' organizations everywhere in the country. The House Appropriations Committee has already voted to grant J. Edgar Hoover $52 million for the purpose of setting up such a large-scale network of FBI spies.

When a victim of the witch-hunters did get a chance to take the witness stand in his own defense, he would be confronted with with an ultimatum like Judge Medina issued to John Gates — be a stool pigeon against your friends and associates or go to jail.

For all these reasons, every worker, every sincere defender of democratic rights should respond to the latest appeal of the Stalinists for support to the 11 defendants now on trial.

THE STALINISTS LIE

However, in endorsing their appeal for support, it is necessary to point out that, as they always do, the Stalinists have included a barefaced lie in their statement. They claim Gates' conduct demonstrates "that Communists [Stalinists] never betray the working class."

Gates' action demonstrates nothing of the kind. It proves only that he refused to inform on other CP members. History cannot be denied so simply, for the record of Stalinist betrayals of the working class is too long and too monstrous to be easily brushed aside. I need cite only a few examples to expose this latest Stalinist falsehood.

Immediately after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, the Stalinists clamored for the American imperialists to open a second front in Europe. They joined with the American Legion in demanding an extension of the 1940 draft law at a time when the entire union movement was opposing such an extension.

During the war, West Coast Stalinist CIO leaders called on the government to break the San Francisco machinists strike by using "armed forces and the appropriate government agencies . . . in any action necessary to halt this or any other strike."

A SCABBY RECORD

While in control of the CIO National Maritime Union during this same period, the Stalinists issued the following order to the membership: "All men between the years of 18 and 30 who persist in turning down ships, or continually overstay their time on the beach, will have their names turned over to Draft Board. . . All men over 30 years of age . . . will have their names turned over to War Manpower Commission."

In Seattle the Stalinists conducted gang raids on Quaker anti-war meetings, while the June 29, 1944, **New World**, a CP rag, carried this statement by Hilda Hanson, a Stalinist hack in the CIO: "We urge the FBI to put these people [the Quakers] in jail as they did the Trotskyists in Minnesota."

Yes, the Stalinists finked for the government, stooping to the vilest tactics to sabotage the defense, when the Trotskyists were convicted in 1941 under the same Smith Act now being used against the Stalinists.

There is a long, long list of never-to-be-forgotten acts of treachery of this kind committed by the Stalinists. And they will continue to betray the workers without hesitation whenever Stalin gives the command.

Yet the Stalinists now on trial must be defended — liars, slanderers and traitors to the working class though they are — because their conviction would gravely imperil the democratic rights of all American workers.

Paris Conference Plays With Masses As So Many Pawns

(Continued from page 1)

Walter Lippman, and charged that the United States is interested "only" in trade.

Lippman wrote, "The storm signals of impending trouble in the world economy are now unmistakable — in Great Britain, in Belgium, in Italy, in France, in Germany and not least of all in the United States.

"The very success in production," Lippman continued, "is now disclosing how little has been accomplished to restore to solvency the prewar world economy or to create a new and solvent postwar economy. We are entering the second year of the Marshall Plan with problems and with conflicts, known to the responsible insiders, that have not yet been explained to the general public."

Involved here are the old conflicts for markets. Reconstruction of Western European industry means these countries must export what they produce. They must compete with American and British capitalism for other buyers, unless the Eastern European markets are reopened.

PLANS FOR BERLIN

So far the question of trade has been only "unofficially" discussed. For public consumption, Acheson glorifies the United States plans for Berlin as a promise of democracy. But the offer of "self administration" is demagogy to win favor with the German people and discredit Stalin. In reality the municipal government could be overruled on almost any issue, by a majority vote of the occupiers.

Vishinsky, on the other hand, demands a return of four-power control for Germany, with each of the occupying powers keeping the right to bloc legislation by veto. This equally reactionary scheme was supplemented by a Cominform announcement proclaiming a line of super-nationalism for the German Stalinists. Otto Grotewohl, co-chairman of the Stalinist Socialist Unity Party, declared that Germans must be united "regardless of their party or social status," opening the door even for Nazis.

As in previous "People's Front" maneuvers of Stalinism, this means class-collaboration and the suppression of all workers' struggles to resolve their problems on a revolutionary socialist basis. Sanzo Nozaka, leader of the Japanese Stalinists, followed the same pattern last month, when he suggested that the "Communists" and the industrial lords, the Zaibatsu, "combine to create a federation of racially minded capitalists" to "end white imperialist domination of Asia."

A BID ON CHINA

In China, a similar "People's Front" policy is in effect, except that there the imperialists are invited to take a share of the spoils. The Chinese Stalinists have vowed to respect private enterprise, and ordered the workers not to demand shorter hours or higher pay. On June 6, the Mayor of Shanghai went even further, inviting "aid from any foreign nation — including the United States and Britain" to industrialized China.

This "open door" policy for American investments is too obviously timed to be anything but a bid by Stalin to the imperialists in exchange for concessions elsewhere.

Whatever may be the outcome of the Paris negotiations, and whatever deal they make, one thing is certain. It will be at the expense of the people of Germany and the rest of the world. Because, as their plans for Germany prove, both sides in Paris are opposed to the first step to the only progressive solution of the German problem — the withdrawal of all occupation troops.

Both sides are using Germany, like they do all other territories and resources under their control, solely to promote their own interests. From none of the powers represented at the Paris conclave, singly or collectively, can we expect any proposals leading to political or economic progress for any part of the world.

World Events

By Paul G. Stevens

Indonesia Gov't Leaders Claim They Killed Tan Malaka

Tan Malaka, one of the founders and leaders of the revolutionary movement in Indonesia, was murdered in East Java on April 16 by the government of the Indonesian Republic, according to a statement by the Indonesian Information Service in New Delhi on June 6.

"Colonel Sungkono, Republican Military Governor and commander of Republican forces in East Java, confirmed the report . . . that he ordered the execution of Tan Malaka, ultra-leftist leader," says the Information Service release. "Tan Malaka was under house arrest in Ngandjuk but when the Dutch attacked that area [last December] he managed to escape. He was recaptured near Blitar after which he was executed."

The **N. Y. Times** dispatch reporting this information contains a fantastically distorted picture of Tan Malaka's political history, representing him in effect as a long-time Stalinist hack who recently broke with the Stalinists. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Tan Malaka was an active revolutionist for more than three and half decades. He was one of the founders of the Indonesian Communist Party, and its representative at congresses of the Communist International in Lenin's time. He rallied to the Trotskyist Left Opposition from the beginning, that is, from the coming to power of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

Exiled from his country by the Dutch imperialists in 1922, he was able to come back in 1945, when he became the outstanding fighter against imperialism and an irreconcilable opponent of all the Republican leaders who sought to compromise with imperialism.

A few months later the Republican government leaders arrested Tan Malaka on false charges that he had attemped to kidnap the Social Democratic premier, Sutan Sjahrir. The Belgian Trotskyist paper attributed this to the "influence of the Stalinists, who at that time were collaborating closely with the native bourgeoisie against the revolutionary movement." Tan Malaka was kept in jail without a trial for over two years. Then, last fall, when the Stalinists broke with the Republican government, he was released following a statement by Hatta, the president of the Council of the Republic, that "the inquiry in the Tan Malaka case had been closed for lack of any evidence, Tan Malaka not being guilty."

After his release, Tan Malaka was reported active in forming a new organization, the Proletarian Party, whose program was said to be along Trotskyist lines, and in leading armed forces against the renewed Dutch attack last winter.

Unrest Continuing In Eastern Europe

It is commonly known by now that the Kremlin's initiative in calling for the Conference of Foreign Ministers was due to its increasing difficulties in the Soviet "buffer zone," for which a solution appears to become ever more urgent. Even as the Big Four minsters are in session in Paris, evidence of this urgency heaps up in news reports from this zone in Eastern Europe.

Not only is the resistance of the Tito government in Yugoslavia to Moscow pressure being sharpened, but indications of new breaches in the governments and Communist Parties hitherto loyal to Stalin are apparent in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria. But even more important, are reports of broader social conflicts and their underlying economic crisis.

Politika, the newspaper published by the Tito regime in Belgrade, reported last week that a four-day hunger demonstration of **Albanian** peasants took place in the town of Suspenza. The Stalinist government of Albania had to furnish the demonstrators with corn, after futile attempts to disperse them.

The same paper also reports large-scale refusal by **Bulgarian** peasants to carry out government planting quotas "because they derive practically no benefit from their crops." This in turn is explained as due to the breakdown of the over-all plan for industrial production, which had been carried out only 82%. Construction on five big hydroelectric stations, some begun by German engineers under the occupation, had ceased. This, **Politika** says, is unofficially explained as due to the insistence of Soviet experts that irrigation dams be built instead, **because the Soviet government** wanted Bulgaria to remain an agricultural state and opposed her industrialization.

In **Poland**, the main theme of the Stalinist leaders at the annual conference of the trade unions last week was the "slow pace" of the workers. Although Poland leads other "People's Democracies" in Stakhanovite competitions (speed-up races), they complained, the "theory of limited production capacity" persists as a "heritage of the ideological burden of pre-war reformist and clerical unions." In other words, there is considerable "old-fashioned" resistance to the "new" Stalinist-directed forms of slave-driving.

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THE MILITANT ARMY

New York Local Opens Summer Work With Sub Campaign

The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party, now planning a summer of intensive political campaigning, has decided to open up the season's activity with an energetic push for increased circulation of **The Militant**.

From June 16 to June 30, according to Literature Agent **Harry Gold**, the New York Trotskyists and their friends will cover key areas where the working people have previously indicated a friendly interest in the program of the Socialist Workers Party.

Major objective of the campaign is to secure subscriptions and sell single copies of **The Militant**. Equally valuable, however, in the opinion of Comrade Gold is to "get out and meet people, make friends and spread the ideas of socialism through personal contact."

Commenting on the importance of the campaign for subscriptions, **Mike Bartell**, Organizer of New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party, declared: "This is the opening gun in our drive this summer and fall to bring the program of the Socialist Workers Party to the attention of more New York workers than in any previous mayoralty election campaign. Our members and friends know from experience that only Marxism can give the correct answers to the big problems facing the workers. They're confident and enthusiastic. I'm certain they'll make a good impression wherever they go, help stiffen the defense against the witch-hunters and bring in a substantial number of subscriptions to our fighting newspaper, **The Militant**."

If you live in the New York area, you can help in this campaign by renewing your subscription now and sending in subscriptions for your friends. It's only $1 for six months or $2 for a full year. Credit for renewal and subscriptions you obtain will go to the N. Y. Local.

The San Francisco comrades are likewise stepping up circulation work. Here's the encouraging report which Literature Agent P.B. sent in:

"Last week Comrades **Sara** and **Mary** started the ball rolling so far as the sale of **The Militant** on campuses is concerned. They were successful in selling 13 copies to the students of the San Francisco City College in the course of a very few minutes. With the papers sold was included a schedule of the series of lectures being conducted by our branch, and as a direct result one of the students attended our lecture of last Friday evening. This certainly was very heartening and we are going to make this type of sales as regularized as possible."

"Also last Saturday morning," continues P.B., "Dixon W. and I sold 14 **Militants** and one **Jobs for All** pamphlet at the special meeting called for the Warehouse Workers. The response was very fine and as a matter of fact a worker, formerly in the IWW, said that he was very glad to see a paper such as ours being sold at their meeting."

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THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. (Phone: AL 4-9330)
Editor: GEORGE BREITMAN
Business Manager: JOSEPH HANSEN

Bundle Orders (5 or more copies): 3c each in U.S., 4c each in foreign countries.
Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

Vol. XIII — No. 24 Monday, June 13, 1949

TROTSKY

Capitalist monopolies, having corroded the middle classes, are devouring the democracies. Monopolies themselves were a result of private ownership of the means of production. Private ownership, having once been the source of progress, came into contradiction with modern technique and is now the cause of crisis, wars, national persecutions and reactionary dictatorship. The liquidation of the private ownership of the means of production is the central historical task of our epoch and will guarantee the birth of a new, more harmonious society. The act of birth, daily observation teaches us, is never a "gradual" process but a biological revolution.

— Leon Trotsky, Interview in St. Louis Post-Dispatch, March 1940.

LENIN

An American Gestapo

The May 30 *Militant* warned editorially of the growing menace to the American people of a secret police and internal spy system patterned on Hitler's Gestapo and Stalin's GPU. We cited the use of paid FBI informers in the unions and other working class organizations, as revealed in the trial of 11 Stalinist leaders.

That Washington is developing such an internal spy system on a vast scale is further indicated by the secret bill on the establishment of a Central Intellingence Agency adopted by both Houses of Congress and sent to Truman for his signature on June 7.

One of the most sinister aspects of this bill is that its contents have been hidden from the American people. With but a few exceptions in secret committee, hearings, not even the Senators and Representatives who voted on it were permitted to read it. The legislators, for the most part, voted blind.

Such an action by Congress is unprecedented. What other secret laws may not be enacted now? What powers may not now be secretly vested in agencies removed completely from the control of the people?

Enough of the general contents of this secret bill has been revealed to indicate that the Central Intelligence Agency which the bill sets up will be a virtual law unto itself. There will be no outside check on its functions. Not in all American history has any government agency been given such blank-check, unregulated authority.

How will this authority be used? We have at least a hint. The June 7 Associated Press dispatch from Washington, reporting on the secret bill, reveals that it "authorizes the Intelligence Agency to assign its agents to schools, industrial organizations, labor unions and other groups in this country."

Thus, we are to have a network of secret political police, with undefined and unregulated power, operating inside every establishment, institution and organization, particularly industrial plants, the labor movement and the educational system. This is the very hall-mark of the police state.

Is America to have what they had in Hitler's Germany and what they now have in Stalin's Russia? Are the American people, especially the working class, to be placed under a pall of terror, fearful of their neighbors, their friends, their shop-mates? We don't have to speculate. The secret police and internal spy system are already here. The new secret bill will extend them everywhere. It is high time for the organized labor movement to sound the alarm and to fight this ominous development with all its power.

Truman Comes Out in the Open

A few weeks ago, after the Truman Democrats in the House tried unsuccessfully to put over the anti-labor Sims injunction bill as a substitute for the Taft-Hartley Act, Truman attempted to disassociate himself from the actions of his congressional colleagues. He put on a big show of pretended continued opposition to any "compromise" on the Thomas-Lesinski labor relations bill in its original form.

The Trumanite liberals and labor leaders, who are seeking at all costs to conceal Truman's responsibility for failure to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act, hailed Truman's stand as evidence that he at least is fighting to fulfill the Democratic Party's election promises.

Last week Truman discarded any further pretense that he personally would make an uncompromising fight and would agree to nothing short of the original bill he had proposed.

His open retreat was first intimated by his statement to the press on June 2 that he would not carry through on his threat, made early in the Congressional session, to stump the country and rally the people if Congress did not start carrying out his promised "Fair Deal" program.

The next day Truman made clear his position on Taft-Hartley repeal. He let it be known through his Senate Majority Leader, Scott W. Lucas, that he is now ready to openly accept a "compromise." Senator Lucas said, following a conference with Truman, that the latter had expressed himself as willing to take the "best bill he could get" — meaning, any bill he can get so long as it no longer bears the formal Taft-Hartley label.

What that "best bill" will be is no secret. It will include the five "compromise" amendments drafted last week and endorsed by a group of Truman Democrats including Senators Paul Douglas, Elbert D. Thomas, Lister Hill, James E. Murray and Lucas. These, be it noted, are among Democrats described most frequently by the Trumanite labor leaders as "pro-labor" and "liberal."

The only difference between the new "compromise" and the Sims bill, which the union leaders formally opposed, is that the latest proposal provides for the breaking of strikes by plant "seizure" instead of injunctions. Truman claims he has "inherent powers" anyway to use injunctions.

The Trumanite union leaders have been making desperate efforts to conceal the real role of Truman. Up to now they have maintained the fiction that Truman was not responsible for the program pushed by his henchmen in Congress. Now Truman himself has exploded this fiction. He and the Truman Democrats are going down the line together in openly betraying their promises on labor legislation.

The Hope for Peace

The Foreign Ministers conference in Paris has given rise to the hope among many people that the danger of war may be eliminated. If the conflicting powers merely show "good will" and evince a "peace loving" disposition, then through the Paris conference, or a series of such conferences, they hope, the differences between the Western nations and the Soviet Union will be ironed out, at least for a long time to come.

This is a dangerous way of thinking. For war or peace does not depend on the "good will" or "peace loving" nature of the rulers of this world, nor on the deals, if any, that may be arranged in international negotiations by men of "good will."

Such deals can never be more than temporary. They may, if it is to the advantage of both sides, temporarily stave off an immediate military conflict or eliminate an immediate pretext for war. But they will not remove the root cause of the war danger.

That danger is inherent in the world-wide system of capitalism. War itself flows from the contradictions and conflicts bred by that system.

The possibilities for the progressive development and expansion of capitalism ended by 1914. By that time every capitalist nation on earth was seeking survival through external expansion. 1914 and 1939 were the consequence of the impelling drive of each capitalist country to secure a more favorable division of the world in order to gain new marekts, new sources of raw materials and, above all, new outlets for industry and for accumulated idle capital.

The last two world wars were preceded by economic convulsions. The capitalist nations sought a solution to internal crises by imperialist war. Today, the economic factors that underlay the first two world wars remain, and in far more acute form. In the depression now developing in this country, we can see the real clue to the mainspring of the next war. It is not the "aggression" of Stalin, nor any lack of "good will," but the crisis of world capitalism that is irresistably driving the world toward another planetary slaughter.

This is the terrible reality which the Paris conference does not and cannot deal with. It is the reason why a thousand such conferences will not, in the end, prevent war. The fight against war is the fight against capitalism. Only the world-wide victory of the planned economy of socialism will bring real peace.

Socialism Is Answer--Einstein

By Joseph Hansen

It is notorious that on subjects outside their special fields, eminent scientists often express singularly unscientific opinions. Some of them, widely quoted in the reactionary press, have struck hard blows against the emancipation of mankind from oppression, poverty and misery. Class-conscious workers have justifiably learned to listen to their pronouncements on social and political questions with considerable skepticism.

Albert Einstein, one of the truly great scientists of our time, has not been guiltless in this respect. A legendary figure because of his theory of relativity and celebrated deduction of the equivalence of mass and energy which indicated the vast stores of power locked in the atom, Einstein lent his great prestige to the propaganda of Allied imperialism in World War II.

Now, his 70th birthday just passed, Albert Einstein has written down his considered views on the capitalist system. It is not what you might logically expect from his support of World War II or his support of the capitalist politician Henry A. Wallace in the 1948 presidential election.

In an article in the May issue of **Monthly Review** that appears to be intended as his final, measured conclusion on the subject, the world famous scientist explains why he believes that capitalism no longer serves the needs of humanity and why it must be replaced by the superior system of socialism.

CRISIS OF SOCIETY

Obviously this is an important statement of opinion. Einstein's views carry great weight, particularly among the young generation of scientists. What would lead this great man, nearing the close of life, to advocate socialism?

Einstein explains: "Innumerable voices have been asserting for some time now that human society is passing through a crisis, that its stability has been gravely shattered. It is characteristic of such a situation that individuals feel indifferent or even hostile toward the group, small or large, to which they belong. In order to illustrate my meaning, let me record here a personal experience. I recently discussed with an intelligent and well-disposed man the threat of another war, which in my opinion would seriously endanger the existence of mankind, and I remarked that only a supra-national organization would offer protection from that danger. Thereupon my visitor, very calmly and coolly, said to me: 'Why are you so deeply opposed to the disappearance of the human race?'

"I am sure that as little as a century ago no one would have so lightly made a statement of this kind. It is the statement of a man who has striven in vain to attain an equilibrium within himself and has more or less lost hope of succeeding. It is the expression of a painful solitude and isolation from which so many people are suffering in these days. What is the cause? Is there a way out?"

NEEDS OF INDIVIDUAL

Attempting to provide the basis for a correct answer, Einstein points to our dependence upon society. "The individual is able to think, feel, strive, and work by himself; but he depends so much upon society — in his physical, intellectual, and emotional existence — that it is impossible to think of him, or to understand him, outside the framework of society. It is 'society' which provides man with food, clothing, a home, the tools of work, language, the forms of thought, and most of the content of thought; his life is made possible through the labor and the accomplishments of the many millions past and present who are all hidden behind the small word 'society'."

In contrast to insect societies which are fixed, human society changes. We have reached the point where "It is only a slight exaggeration to say that mankind constitutes even now a planetary community of production and consumption." But humanity does not enjoy community of feeling.

The "essence of the crisis of our time," says Einstein, is the fact that the individual has become more conscious than ever of his dependence upon society but feels this dependence not as "a protective force, but rather as a threat to his natural rights, or even to his economic existence."

REAL SOURCE OF EVIL

Why does the modern individual feel this insecurity despite the marvelous advances in society's productive power? Einstein answers: "The economic anarchy of capitalist society as it exists today is, in my opinion, the real source of the evil."

Following the Marxist analysis,

ALBERT EINSTEIN

Einstein describes how the means of production — "that is to say, the entire productive capacity that is needed for producing goods as well as additional capital goods" — is for the most part held as the "private property of individuals."

"The owner of the means of production is in a position to purchase the labor power of the worker. By using the means of production, the worker produces new goods which become the property of the capitalist. The essential point about this process is the relation between what the worker produces and what he is paid, both measured in terms of real value. **Insofar as the labor contract is 'free,' what the worker receives is determined not by the real value of the goods he produces, but by his minimum needs and by the capitalists' requirements for labor power in relation to the number of workers competing for jobs. It is important to understand that even in theory the payment of the worker is not determined by the value of his product."**

GROWTH OF MOPOPOLY

We do not imagine the apologists of the capitalist system will enjoy reading what the world's most renowned scientist has to say on how this system leads to the concentration of capital:

"The result of these developments is an oligarchy of private capital the enormous power of which cannot be effectively checked even by a democratically organized political society. This is true since the members of legislative bodies are selected by political parties, largely financed or otherwise influenced by private capitalists who, for all practical purposes, separate the electorate from the legislature. The consequence is that the representatives of the people do not in fact sufficiently protect the interests of the underprivileged sections of the population. Moreover, under existing conditions, private capitalists inevitably control, directly or indirectly, the main sources of information (press, radio, education). It is thus extremely difficult, and indeed in most cases quite impossible, for the individual citizen to come to objective conclusions and to make intelligent use of his political rights."

Summing up, Einstein points to the "increasingly severe depressions," to mass unemployment, to the "huge waste of labor" and to the "crippling of the social consciousness of individuals" which "I consider the worst evil of capitalism."

SILENT ON WAR CAUSE

Here one expects Einstein to describe how capitalism likewise plunges humanity into increasingly destructive wars, butchering tens of millions. But the physicist, renowned for profundity of thought in his own field, leaves out this essential item in his social analysis. Perhaps he felt embarrassed over his political position in the recent slaughter? In any case he proceeds to state the case for socialism:

"I am convinced there is only one way to eliminate these grave evils, namely through the establishment of a socialist economy, accompanied by an educational system which would be oriented toward social goals. In such an economy, the means of production are owned by society itself and are utilized in a planned fashion. A planned economy, which adjusts production to the needs of the community, would distribute the work to be done among all those able to work and would guarantee a livelihood to every man, woman, and child. The education of the individual, in addition to promoting his own innate abilities, would attempt to develop in him a sense of responsibility for his fellow men in place of the glorification of power and success in our present society."

Einstein adds that a "planned economy is not yet socialism." Evidently thinking of the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, he declares that "A planned economy as such may be accompanied by the complete enslavement of the individuals." He is concerned about finding means of protecting the "rights of the individual" from the "power of bureaucracy."

TO HIS CREDIT

It is to Einstein's everlasting credit that he did not permit the crimes of Stalinism to push him into rejection of socialism and into the reactionary position of defending the outmoded capitalist system, as has happened to so many of lesser stature. On the other hand, it would seem that he has not familiarized himself with the scientific work that has been done on this problem by Leon Trotsky — a work that shows how bureaucracy is deprived of an economic base as the technologically-advanced countries switch from capitalism to planned economy.

Einstein's views on the necessity of breaking out of the capitalist system and into the liberating world of socialism deserve the widest publicity. We venture to predict, however, that the capitalist press which is generally only too eager to air a statement by Albert Einstein will in this case remain discreetly silent.

STALINISTS PRESERVE SYSTEM OF WAGE SLAVERY IN CHINA'S CITIES

By George Breitman

A military-bureaucratic shift of political power has taken place in China, and not a social revolution. If this was not clear before, when the Stalinists were winning rural areas with the aid of a program of mild agrarian reform, it has become plain enough now, a few weeks after the Stalinist conquest of Shanghai (population six million) and Nanking (one million).

The new rulers of China are preserving fundamentally the same rotten social and economic foundation as Chiang Kai-shek's regime did. What Chiang and his allies failed to do — that is, build up capitalism and make a go of it — Mao Tse-tung and the Stalinists have now undertaken to do under their own leadership, with new slogans and by their own methods.

Their methods in China, like everywhere else, are bureaucratic in conception and dictatorial in execution, as the recent report of the Chinese Trotskyists amply indicated (**Militant**, May 2 and 9). The Stalinists are mortally hostile to every manifestation of working class initiative and control. Like Chiang's regime, they are ever alert to prevent any independent, uncontrolled activity by the masses; the only difference being that the Stalinists crush such activity in the name of "Marxism-Leninism."

SAVING WAGE SLAVERY

For years the Stalinists have been pledging that when they came to power they would maintain and expand capitalism in China. Now they have proved they meant exactly what they said. Capitalist property relations have been maintained intact in the countryside; fierce repression has been the lot of revolutionary peasants who sought to drive out the landlords and take over the land. More recently, the Stalinists have furnished striking proof of their determination to preserve the system of wage slavery in the cities as well.

Ten days after they entered Shanghai, Jao Shu-Shih, chief political commissioner of the Stalinist army, called a meeting of several hundred local "prominent Chinese industrialists, financiers and businessmen" and laid down the line for labor-capital relations in the "new democracy."

Labor, he warned, was "not to make demands that employers were not in a position to meet. Employers were instructed to treat labor at least as well as before Communist capture of the city." (INS dispatch, June 3.) With the economic status quo frozen in this way, it was no wonder, as the **N. Y. Times** headlined the story, that "RED MOVES PLEASE SHANGHAI BANKERS."

"Both management and workers are equal and management should respect the workers," the Stalinist boss continued; "no party should disrespect the other party which may lead to any hostile attitude between different classes of people." (**N. Y. Times** dispatch.) Here is class collaboration with a vengeance — and it's a command, not a request.

REGIMENTED "FRIENDSHIP"

Then to show the capitalists that they had nothing to fear from orders to "respect" the workers, Jao said: "Laborers must regard industrialists as their friends. . . Laborers have been liberated politically but their economic liberation is yet to come." (INS dispatch.)

And what will happen to those workers who refuse to regard industrialists as their friends, who insist on continuing the class struggle in the factories and even on staging strikes? Since the workers, far from being liberated in any respect, are deprived of elementary democratic rights just as much under the Stalinists as they were under the Kuomintang, the answer is that they will be denounced by the Stalinists as "subversive" and stood up before a firing squad.

Exactly the same situation prevails in Nanking. There the Stalinist commander, Gen. Liu Po-cheng, told the businessmen that the new regime wanted to promote private as well as public enterprises, "giving equal attention to capital and labor." (N. Y. **Times**, May 31.) The general added that in the past the Stalinists had espoused "erroneous policies of excessively high wages and excessively high income taxes." This "self-criticism" is a promise that such "errors" will not be committed again.

All this was strictly in line with the industrial policy laid down for the Stalinists in an article printed last month in the **China Digest** in Hong Kong by Chen Po-tah, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China:

"Reforms must be gradual and not violent. We do not come to disturb but only to supervise."

Proclamations on the equality of the classes; enforcement of "friendship" between them; and "supervision" of reforms through the power of the state and the armed forces — aren't these the classic expressions of the corrupt Social Democracy against which Lenin waged war to the death? Imagine the Social Democrats in power in China today — would they have to change a single word in the Stalinist pronouncements on domestic policy? Or would they behave differently in any important respect?

OBSTACLE TO SOCIALISM

"Supervised" capitalism in China, even if it is accompanied by some nationalization of industry, will not have any greater social-revolutionary content than, for example, the infinitely more industrialized capitalism being preserved and "regulated" by the class-collaborationist Laborite government in Britain.

The reconstruction of society on socialist foundations is possible only under the democratic control and leadership of the working people. Standing as an obstacle in the way of such a reconstruction are the bayonets of Stalinist power in China, which are employed not only to prop up the bankrupt capitalist system but also to regiment the masses. That's why Stalinism must be mercilessly opposed and destroyed.

THE CASE OF JAMES KUTCHER

(Text of Article in June 1 'Advance')

The Government didn't ask James Kutcher about his political beliefs when he entered the United States Army. And because of his beliefs, it didn't stop him from fighting heroically in Italy where he lost both his legs in the battle of San Pietro.

But when he came home and got a job as a clerk with the Veterans Administration (which he fulfilled satisfactorily for two years) the VA Loyalty Board questioned his political affiliations. Kutcher told them he was a member of the Socialist Workers Party. He was discharged!

That's the story of "The Kutcher Case" in a nutshell. It is a sordid story and one that must be re-written if we are to maintain the democratic rights upon which this country thrives.

Under a presidential order denying federal employment to anyone belonging to an organization arbitrarily designated as "subversive," Kutcher was dismissed. This is the same executive order which has been attacked by American labor because under it, the Department of Justice issued a "subversive list" without hearings, without any specification of charges or submission of evidence.

The injustice committed against James Kutcher is not purely an injustice committed against one individual (though that would be enough) but rather it is indicative of a trend away from the democratic principles of freedom which the people of this country have cherished and guarded — and thus, it is an injustice against every man.

Kutcher's fight to hold his beliefs as well as his job is every American's fight and it is being taken up by forthright individuals and organizations across the country.

A Kutcher Civil Rights Committee has been formed to carry on the battle to secure the civil rights denied Kutcher by the VA Loyalty Board. It is a non-partisan group made up of such distinguished leaders in American life as Dr. John Dewey, Professor C. Wright Mills, Lewis Mumford, Professor Meyer Schapiro and many others.

In a recent letter, the group succinctly stated its purpose: "Although our Committee does not subscribe to Mr. Kutcher's political views, we believe he has the same right to hold them and a government job as he did when he lost his legs with the infantry during the war."

This committee is endorsed by such organizations as the American Civil Liberties Union, American Veterans Committee, National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination, and others.

At the University of Chicago, a campus Kutcher Civil Rights Committee has been formed and is supported by more than 100 members of the faculty of that institution. On the labor scene, hundreds of AFL and CIO locals across the country have pledged their support in behalf of James Kutcher.

But the fight must not be carried by certain individuals and organizations alone. It must be fought by everyone because it is every man's battle to secure the rights of his fellow man. Only by such cooperative action can the integrity and freedom of each individual be maintained against the constant threat of reaction.

Kutcher's freedom is everybody's job!

Visit your local headquarters of the

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

AKRON — 4 So. Howard St., 2nd fl. every afternoon 1 to 4 p. m. Meetings Sunday 2 p. m.

BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St., open Wed. 5:30-9:00 p.m., social last Sat. of month.

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PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Forums 2nd Fri. each month. Marxist class 4 p.m. every Sat. Meetings every Thurs., 7:30 p.m.

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIII — MONDAY, JUNE 13, 1949 — NUMBER 24

Socialized Medicine IV

Congress Taken Care Of

By Grace Carlson

For the eighth time in ten years, a compulsory health insurance plan has been presented to the American Congress. Present indications are that it will be shelved for the eighth time. The pressure of the reactionary lobbyists of the American Medical Association upon the normally reactionary members of Congress, who live in mortal terror of anything approaching "socialism," — even such a very mild form of socialized medicine as the proposed National Health Insurance Program, has killed this health plan for this session.

It is interesting — in a kind of a grim way — to consider that Congressmen have a system of socialized medicine for themselves, despite their violent objections to the National Health Insurance Program. Here is the testimony of the not-very-socialist-minded Drew Pearson on the subject in his Washington column of May 16:

"Senators and Representatives already are accepting 'socialized medicine' for themselves.

"Their aches and pains are treated by a government doctor whose fees are paid by the taxpayers. He is Dr. George W. Calver of the Navy, who guards over the health of the nation's lawmakers.

"Ever since two congressmen died of heart attacks in 1926, Dr. Calver not only has kept an office on Capitol Hill, but serves as 'family doctor' to members of Congress.

"Twice a year, he also sends Congressmen out to Bethesda naval hospital for complete laboratory tests. All the bills — except prescriptions for medicine — are charged to the taxpayers though the laboratory fees alone would cost $150 at a private hospital. . .

"Not only the lawmakers but their staffs can go to Dr. Calver for treatment. His office handles approximately 60,000 patient-visits each year — a full-time job for Dr. Calver, an assistant doctor, nine nurses and three Navy enlisted men."

It appears that the "socialized medicine" sauce that is fit for the Congressional geese is not sauce for the American citizens — the unfortunate ganders in this parable!

A Time for Reason

[The following article by Francis Bradley is reprinted from the newspaper of Westinghouse UE Local 107. Bradley is business manager of this local which has been in the forefront of the fight against brass hat blacklists of progressive unionists, who are arbitrarily designated as "poor security risks" and barred from "restricted" areas in plants holding military contracts.]

The "security-risk" cases in our plant have highlighted for us the present attack on civil liberties and one of the most important of these liberties is the "right to work." If a man's ideas are enough to bar him from working then we have a form of tyranny which is just as bad as any fascist or totalitarian dictatorship which ever existed.

These attacks have got to be stopped. We did a great deal, all that one local could do, when we had our stoppage and issued what I consider to be one of the best pamphlets ever put out by a trade union. Now we need help. We need allies. We need a mass protest movement which is a good deal bigger than Local 107.

I have therefore sent the following letter to various people throughout the land and am also writing to the national leaders of the CIO to use their strength to put an end to this vicious practice. The letter is entitled — "A Time for Reason."

"You cannot preserve liberty by limiting it."

"Liberty is the only thing you cannot have unless you are willing to give it to others."

High sounding phrases, all right. Used by practically everyone. There are many others, American and foreign. "I disagree with what you say but will fight to the death for your right to say it." These words and others roll off our tongues like saliva. Do they have any meaning today?

National and state legislators have adopted or are in the process of adopting statutes that are making liberty a thing of the past. Subversive lists, loyalty orders, investigations — all frightening. The level of debate in the halls of our legislatures falling to the moronic level of suggesting "go back to where you came from" or similar phrases. The legislators voting almost unanimously for laws limiting political views of minorities — practical evidence that the lawmakers themselves dare not "think" differently.

Where does it end?

In the labor movement, quietly but efficiently, the military moves in, removing workers who dare to "think" differently. Yes, some are Communists, some have other political views, and some are just rough and ready trade unionists with no political philosophy.

In July, 1948, Westinghouse workers at the South Philadelphia Works in Essington, Pennsylvania, attempted to bring the whole question before the country when it stopped work because two union members were removed from their jobs. They had "dared" to think differently. The two got other jobs in the plant. But elsewhere the "purge" continued. Now there are two others in the same plant. The uninformed might believe the factory is a hotbed of subversives — it's not so. It's only because we believe in yelling as loud as we can when we lose something. In this case, something more precious than economic gains. Others climb into their shells.

We have failed but haven't given up. We won't join purges because it's popular.

We, in one small section of the labor movement, appeal to you, the columnists, the authors, the educators, the scientists — those who feel the curtailment of liberty first — take up the fight. Keep talking, writing, teaching liberty.

This is a time for reason!

The SP and the Pact

By John F. Petrone

It's only June, but without further delay I would like to nominate the Socialist Party's resolution on the North Atlantic Pact as the shabbiest political document of the year. It would really be a banner year if any other document appears to even rival this one for its mixture of unprincipled opportunism, bankruptcy and treachery.

You might expect an organization calling itself both anti-war and socialist to have little difficulty in deciding to oppose an imperialist war alliance. But the fact is that this question gave the SP leadership more trouble than any in recent years.

On the one hand, a large part of the SP's electoral support comes from pacifist elements and from innocents who mistakenly associate it with the anti-war tradition of Debs. To come out for the pact would alienate a good part of these. On the other hand, the whole orientation of the SP is toward the left wing of the Democratic Party, the labor bureaucracy, Americans for Democratic Action, the Social Democrats, the Liberal Party, etc. To come out against the pact would complicate the SP's relations with its prospective bedfellows, if not destroy them altogether.

Some members of the SP National Executive Committee (including Norman Thomas) were for the pact, others were against. What to do? The decision was difficult and took some time, but at last it has been made. In case you think I made all this up, you can read for yourself the NEC's resolution in the May 27 **Socialist Call.**

They decided to "compromise." You may ask how that is possible. Very simple, they just don't take any formal position for or against the pact. Instead, they list the arguments of both sides — "1. Some of us feel that the Pact. . . [will] be almost fatal for peace. Further, it will strengthen nationalism. . . promoting an armaments race. 2. Some of us feel that the formal alliance backed up by a degree of military willingness is a necessary condition for the continued effectiveness of the Marshall Plan approach. . . " etc., etc.

But this is just a friendly family difference, hardly worth fighting about. Having catalogued the differences, the resolution casts about to see what the agreements are. And sure enough, it finds "We are all agreed that there are in the new situation several important dangers" — namely, the growth of militarization, the use of U. S. aid for fascist and colonial despots, and so on. The resolution concludes by saying that the job of the SP is to "minimize" these dangers, which weren't created by the pact anyhow.

Like most "compromises," this one works to the advantage of the more reactionary side in the dispute. The opponents of the pact can console themselves that they have prevented the SP's commitment to a war pact in peacetime. But at the same time the advocates of the pact have been given a free hand to take any position they wish in public; and since Thomas is the only member with any public influence, this means the weight of the SP, actually if not formally, will be placed behind the pact. That's all the great "moral hero" Thomas wanted anyhow.

And so the SP resolution, while seeking to evade the issue in a most cowardly fashion, contributes to the drive of the warmongers by making it appear that it doesn't matter very much whether or not the pact is adopted and by opening the way for its leaders and members to go out and propagandize in favor of the pact. You will have to search a long time before you find anything more "amoral" than that.

Notes from the News

THE COST OF MILITARISM — "If we could cut our current military expenses by one-half, the savings in one year would pay for the annual cost of the national health-insurance plan proposed by the President, the entire cost of federal aid to education provided in the Thomas bill, the annual appropriations in the national housing bill, and still leave about $5 billion for the erection of needed schoolhouses," estimates Paul Blanshard in the June 4 **Nation.**

* * *

SILVER LINING — In May 7.8% of the labor force in the Cleveland area, estimated at about 613,000, were looking for work. The capitalist press tries to sound a hopeful note by recalling the figure was 17% in March of 1940, and 25% at the peak of the depression.

* * *

PURE AS IVORY SOAP — According to FBI Director Hoover, 99.6% of federal employees and jobseekers have been checked and found "loyal."

* * *

SHADOWED, DENOUNCED AND MALIGNED — "The press, the radio, the screen, the government seem to be in league against the presentation of minority opinion. To declare for peace, to labor toward international understanding, to stand up and be counted for civil rights or a wider diffusion of medical care, or fair employment practices, or the prerogative of minority groups has meant in the cases of good and gentle friends of mine that they have been shadowed by government investigators, denounced over the air and maligned in public prints," said Dr. Howard Mumford Jones, Harvard faculty member and president of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at the commencement of Sarah Lawrence College.

* * *

PERLOW QUITS CP — Max Perlow, Stalinist secretary-treasurer of the CIO United Furniture Workers, last week announced he had quit the Communist Party so that he could sign the Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavit which the union has decided to file. The **Daily Worker** story makes it evident Perlow's decision was made in consultation with the CP.

* * *

REASON ENOUGH — Dr. Ralph Bunche, acting mediator for Palestine, says one of the reasons he turned down Truman's offer of a post as Assistant Secretary of State and decided to keep his UN job was his resentment against Jim Crow practices in Washington, D. C.

* * *

A COMPLETE JOB — Calling attention to a California Senate bill demanding a loyalty oath for all lawyers, Nathaniel Phillips, chairman of the New York County Lawyers Association committee on civil rights, says: "First, it was the federal employees who were loyalty-tested. Then came the professions and the school teachers. Why not make a complete job of it? No doctor should be allowed to treat the ailing — unless he files a loyalty oath; no dentist, to pull out the offending tooth; no plumber clean the drain; no truckdriver use the highways, etc., ad infinitum and ad nauseam. We will then have a hundred per cent loyal population in the Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave."

Economic Decline to Deepen, Monopoly Spokesmen Admit

By John G. Wright

The downslide of U. S. economy which has since October 1948 involved all branches of production, except for metals and auto, has become general in the last six weeks. The only features of the economic situation still in question are: What will be the rate of the current downslide or depression? And how long will it take before the bottom of this depression is plumbed?

The most conservative business circles no longer deny that a sharp change in economic life is upon us. In its June letter, the National City Bank admits that all hopes "that seasonal influences might check the recession have been disappointed," and then goes on to add: "The drop is cumulative as it reaches back into the basic industry, and activity suffers."

Nevertheless these sober financial tycoons still hope that the decline, admittedly "cumulative," will neither last long nor strike too deeply. They are simply whistling in the dark. Neither they nor anyone else can tell in these initial depression stages just what will happen next, least of all, the duration of the successive phases of the depression now in progress.

Erstwhile economic Pollyannas, who only yesterday banked everything on the mythical spring upturn, are today taking the dimmest view of things, while those who were quite bearish in outlook last year are assuming cheerful faces, pretending to discern silvery tints among the thunderheads of the depression.

Among the ex-Pollyannas, piping some shrill notes of woe, is none other than Charles E. Wilson, president of the General Electric monoply. On June 1, this badly scared master-mind told the annual convention of the Edison Electric Institute that "it seems reasonable that the decline in industry production, **now well under way, may continue until about the second** quarter of 1950," when an upturn is sure to begin. By the "end of 1951," this prophet promises that "production may again reach the high level of 1948." (**Journal of Commerce**, June 2.)

C. E. Wilson obviously belongs to the school of capitalist thinkers on economic affairs who never forget anything only in order never to learn anything. They hope and pray for a repetition of the depression of 1920-21 which followed World War I. The time-term and the phases Wilson and his fellow-prophets of this type set for the current depression are virtually identical with those of the above-mentioned crisis.

A pure and simple repetition of past events, whether in economics or politics, is the falsest and tritest of speculations. New economic developments represent a repetition of the past exclusively in the sense that they are a continuation of the past, and by that token, a deepening and an extension of all the basic features inherent in the situation.

But leaving this aside for the moment, the outstanding fact remains that big shots like Wilson are in effect telling the American people that a disaster of major proportions is directly ahead — a disaster which all the Wilsons are already sure may last for at least a year and a half, with no glimmer of hope until the "end of 1951." The crisis of 1920-21 was a calamity indeed, surpassed only by the far greater catastrophe that followed in 1929.

It is a "repetition" of 1929 that all the capitalists are really fearful of. They talk and think about it — in private. But among them the 1929 experience is a "nasty" topic polite people do not mention in public.

But the truth is that a "repetition" of 1929, in the correct sense of the term, is just as likely, if not more so, than a "repetition" of 1920-21.

Discussing the prospects of American capitalism, and the possible forms of the unavoidable depression, here is what we wrote two years ago:

"The best that the capitalist commentators themselves hope for is a repetition of the 1920-21 cycle, when the depression hit bottom and spent itself in the space of 18 months, and the economy then rebounded to new heights. . .

"There are several possible variants. Barring a desperate plunge into war by the ruling class (as its sole way of 'solving' the crisis) or the intervention of the proletarian revolution, among these variants is one that may combine many of the **features of both the 1920-21 depression and the catastrophe** that erupted in 1929. In the 1929 crisis economy declined steadily for four years before hitting bottom and was never able to recover to former levels. The current decline may ultimately drop to levels one-fifth to one-third below the postwar peaks, with a 'normal' army of 3-10 million unemployed; production may then flatten out at these lower levels for a relatively extended period, only to slide downward again later on. Stabilization at levels within close proximity of those that prevail now (i.e., in June 1947) is entirely out of question. On the other hand, some phases of the downturn may prove to be more precipitate than either in 1920-21 or 1929-32. In addition, we repeat, there is good reason for expecting a combination of developments that may assume entirely unexpected forms." (**Fourth International**, June 1947.)

This analysis, in our opinion, holds good today.

Canadian Seamen Fight Scabbery Of SIU Leaders

The heroic strike of the Canadian Seamen's Union, entering its third month, is reaching into ports of every major country despite blows from all sides. Government terror, organized scabbery, the strikebreaking orders issued by British trade union bureaucrats, and now a stab in the back by the Trades and Labor Council of Canada, have failed to intimidate the strikers.

In a closed meeting on June 3, the Executive Board of the TLC announced that it was suspending the CSU. This was craven capitulation to the red-baiting campaign carried on by Frank Hall, a leading member of the TLC, who for the past year has plotted to replace the Stalinist-dominated CSU with the house-broken Seafarers' International Union. Both the TLC and the SIU are affiliated to the American Federation of Labor; the CSU is a national union affiliated only to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

The TLC tried to cover up its treachery to the seamen. It alibied that suspension of the CSU does not "automatically" pave the way for the SIU's recognition as its organization for seamen. It even held its nose over the stench of SIU practices, and hinted that sanitation would be helpful. It criticized the SIU for manning **"the ships of the men on strike with inexperienced crews, with the full support of the struck companies, to say nothing of the questionable methods used."**

BACK-DOOR AGREEMENT

The Canadian East Coast shipowners who for eight months tried to force the seamen to take a wage-cut and give up the union hiring hall, broke off negotiations with the CSU on April 1. They announced that they had reached an agreement with the SIU, which had no membership on Canadian deep-sea vessels but offered to recruit crews to replace CSU men.

The CSU struck to fight for its very existence, against violent assaults by the shipowners and their many stooges. Not only did the government provide troops to protect scabs and fight strikers, as it did in the similar struggle on the Great Lakes last summer; this time it hired scab crews itself, to oust the legally-recognized CSU. One of the bitterest picket line battles raged when scabs were put aboard a government-operated vessel of the Canadian National Steamships at Halifax.

What is at issue is the democratic right of union men to choose their own officers. All of the opponents of the CSU — first the union-busting companies which refused to negotiate with a Stalinist led union, then the SIU which seized upon the anti-Soviet hysteria to launch a raiding excursion, then the government and finally the pro-Marshall Plan trade union bureaucrats on two continents — have justified their crimes by red-baiting.

ACTS OF SOLIDARITY

Rank and file workers everywhere have seen the truth, and extended the hand of solidarity to the CSU strikers. Over the opposition of the British Transport and General Workers union officialdom, dockers in London, Avonmouth, Bristol, Leith and Liverpool have refused to handle cargo on SIU-manned Canadian ships. In Amsterdam, the Seamen's Union and the General Transport Union urged boycott of Canadian ships. In Melbourne another scab ship has been tied up for weeks. Reports of solidarity have come from Norway, France, Cuba, British Guiana, and the United States.

In a desperate attempt to destroy this magnificent solidarity, the SIU has cabled the British Labor Government to stop the sympathy strikes, or face a tie-up of all British ships by the SIU in every American port on the Atlantic and the Gulf. It is obvious that the Labor Government would like to oblige . . . but thus far it has been unable to compel the workers to scab on their Canadian brothers.

Georgia Lynch Victim

The body of Calif Hill Jr. (left), brutally beaten and shot, lies on a morgue slab in Irwinton, Ga. He was kidnapped by two white men from a jail cell, where he had been locked up by Sheriff George Hatcher (right). The sheriff had left the jail keys lying on a table in his home.

JIM KUTCHER TO TELL HIS STORY IN SEATTLE

SEATTLE — James Kutcher will tell his own story at a mass meeting to be held June 22 at Swedish Hall in Seattle under the auspices of the Northwest Kutcher Civil Rights Committee.

This meeting will climax a crowded ten-day schedule of activities planned for the legless veteran on his visit to that city.

Kutcher is also billed to participate in a forum on civil rights sponsored by the Seattle American Civil Liberties Union on June 15. The American Veterans Committee is arranging a campus meeting for him on June 21 at Eagleson Hall close to the University of Washington. Preparations are also being made for Kutcher to appear before a number of AFL and CIO unions.

Many prominent individuals last week announced their endorsement of Kutcher's case. Among them are Roy Atkinson, regional director of the CIO; H. Tucker, officer of Washington State PAC for National CIO Policy; Hugh Mathews, Northwest organizer for the United Steelworkers of America; Robert L. Ferguson, financial secretary of Local 1208, USA-CIO and former president of the Washington State Industrial Union Council; Russell Fluent, state chairman of the Washington Progressive Party and its gubernatorial candidate; Charles Hickie, president of Typographical Union Local 202; and Paul Manning, secretary, International Association of Machinists Local 79.

New organizations supporting the case include the Lumber Inspectors Union-AFL; United Steelworkers-CIO Local 1208; and the University Chapter of the American Veterans Committee. At its meeting on June 4 the Executive Board of the Progressive Party of Washington State officially supported Kutcher's case, despite the heavy influence of the Stalinists in that organization.

Following the example set by 105 faculty members at the University of Chicago, Max Savelle, professor of history, and Ivan C. Rutledge, assistant professor of law at the University of Washington, on May 29 sent a signed statement which called upon all their colleagues to join in a statement of protest over James Kutcher's dismissal. Their letter states that they have written this protest **"because we believe this is an important test case of the validity of one of the most precious principles of American Democracy . . . and will strengthen the hands of the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee by showing that there is an alert public opinion behind it."**

New Sample of Stalinist Slander

By Joseph Keller

One of the minor epics connected with the trial of the 11 Stalinist leaders at Foley Square court house was the endeavors of Farrell Dobbs, Militant correspondent to get a seat at the press table. He finally managed a one-day pass for the trial opening and from there worked up to a regular pass.

As a matter of fact, Dobbs had to serve a prison sentence back in 1944 in order to qualify for the privilege of observing and reporting the trial in 1949. The reason he was given a pass finally, it seems, was that the authorities agreed he had a direct and vital interest in the case of the 11, inasmuch as Dobbs was one the 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis CIO leaders who were railroaded to prison in 1944 under the Smith "Gag" Act — the same law under which the Stalinists are now being prosecuted.

So the authorities grudgingly let Dobbs in and stuck him on the last seat at the press table. There he's been sitting ever since — the only member of the working press who writes an article every week denouncing this witch-hunt political trial and calling for the defense of the 11 Stalinists.

We'd probably never even have mentioned all this if it weren't for the fact of the Stalinists' base ingratitude.

One of the professional poison-pen artists of the **Daily Worker**, Joseph North, conceived the idea of using the presence of Dobbs at the press table as the basis for an attack on him and the Socialist Workers Party. North does this by linking Dobbs with the Hearst reporters and other laborers in the sewers of capitalist journalism who happen to be sitting at the same press table.

The inspired title of North's piece of gutter journalism is "Buzzards Flock Together at the Foley Square Trial." The article takes up half the editorial page of the May 25 **Daily Worker.** It describes the "common scene" in the court room as "Trotskyist Farrell Dobbs chats intimately with James Sweinhart of the **Detroit News**, the man who spent years as public relations man for Hitler-decorated Henry Ford of the **Protocols of Zion.**"

Isn't it a startling coincidence that during the height of the Ford strike, when Trotskyist militants were opposing Reuther's sell-out arbitration deal, the **Daily Worker** so conveniently discovered Dobbs chatting "intimately" with just that one "buzzard," of the **Detroit News**, who could be used to smear Dobbs and the SWP in the eyes of the Ford and other auto workers?

This is what is known in technical political language as an "amalgam" — falsely linking two different political elements so that one is smeared by its alleged connection with the other. By linking Dobbs to a reactionary journalist who once worked for "Hitler-decorated Ford," North tries to smear the Trotskyists, the genuine Marxists and revolutionary socialists, as "Hitlerites" and "fascists."

North even tries to link Dobbs to the kind of "socialism" represented by Norman Thomas, although Thomas, like the Stalinists, supported American imperialism in the last war, while Dobbs went to prison for opposing the war. And as most politically informed people know, at the recent Senate hearings Thomas supported the imperialist Atlantic Pact while Dobbs vigorously attacked it.

What is the reason for this fantastic smear? The key to this question is what North "forgot" to mention when he forged his amalgam between Dobbs and the capitalist press reporters who "hover around the Communist trial like buzzards." He keeps completely silent about how Dobbs, with 17 other Trotskyists, was imprisoned under the Smith Act in 1944.

This omission is all the more extraordinary since the **Daily Worker** editors had in their hands the May 16 letter from Irving Abramson, eastern regional representative of the national CIO, reminding them in detail of what the **Daily Worker** wrote about the Minneapolis Labor Case, which it now tries so hard to avoid mentioning.

Abramson's letter, which the **Daily Worker** refused to print and which **The Militant** published last week, told how the Communist Party urged on the government witch-hunters to the "kill" against the Trotskyists. He proved his point by elaborate quotations from the **Daily Worker** of 1944 and other Stalinist documents.

North's article was the Stalinists' immediate attempt to cover up against Abramson's exposure. The Daily Worker tried to divert attention from the Stalinists' crimes against civil liberties in the Minneapolis Case by falsely linking Dobbs to the "buzzards" who now "hasten down to Foley Square to be in on the kill" of the 11 Stalinists.

It is clear that nothing in the court room at Foley Square is so intolerable to the Stalinist leaders as the presence and studying gaze of Farrell Dobbs, one of the first 18 victims of the Smith Act and the only ones ever to suffer imprisonment under the Act. What a galling reminder Dobbs is of how they hailed the Smith Act prosecution and incarceration of the Trotskyists.

North doesn't succeed in making a "buzzard" out of Dobbs, the one man in the press box at Foley Square who is blasting the trial, exposing the frameup and demanding the freedom of the 11 Stalinist defendants. But North does teach us a lot about Stalinist yellow journalism—and where the real birds-of-a-Hearst-feather breed.